

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GENEVA 02426 301819Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05
CEQ-01 ERDA-05 COME-00 EB-08 EPA-01 NSF-01 OES-06
FEAE-00 INT-05 OIC-02 CEA-01 FPC-01 OMB-01 STR-04
TRSE-00 ACDA-07 /113 W

-----301918Z 060488 /44

O R 301714Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6308
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 2426

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ECE, CSCE, UR, UK, EC, SENV, ETRN, ENRG, PFOR
SUBJECT: ECE - 23ND SESSION - SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ALL-EUROPEAN
CONGRESSES ON ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT AND ENERGY

REF: A) GENEVA 2337; B) GENEVA 2402; C) GENEVA 2403

1. REFTELS B AND C SET FORTH DRAFT RESOLUTION AND
STRATEGY PAPER FOR ECE 32ND SESSION PREPARED BY UK FOR
CONSIDERATION BY EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (EC) REPS GENEVA
MARCH 31. IF APPROVED, DRAFT RESOLUTION MAY BE PRESENTED
AT ECE WESTERN CAUSUC MEETING APRIL 1 AND STRATEGY PAPER WILL
FORM BASIS FOR EC POSITION ON HANDLING OF SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR
ALL-EUROPEAN CONGRESSES AT 32ND SESSION. MISSION COMMENTS FOLLOW.

2. THRUST OF EC STRATEGY IS TO BURY SOVIET PROPOSAL IN MAIN
COMMISSION RESOLUTION ON FUTURE WORK OF THE COMMISSION AND
CSCE FOLLOW-UP. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING PROPOSALS MADE BY
VARIOUS MEMBER GOVERNMENTS, RESOLUTION WOULD PROVIDE FOR
INITIAL STEPS TOWAD HIGH LEVEL MEETING ON ENVIRONMENT (ONLY)
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 02426 301819Z

WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF ECE AND ACCORDING TO RATIONALE AND CRITERIA
SET FORTH BY ECE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANOVNIK IN DOCUMENT
EC/ECE/911. RATIONALE FOR SUCH TACTIC IS THAT SOVIETS
DESPITE THREATS DO NOT REALLY WISH TO TAKE PROPOSAL
TO BELGRADE, SINCE THEY NOW PREFER AS LIMITED A
CSCE FOLLOW-UP MEETING AS POSSIBLE, AND ARE WILLING
TO SETTLE FOR RELATIVELY MINIMAL RESPONSE TO THEIR

INITIATIVE AT ECE 32ND SESSION (SHILE KEEPING REMAINDER OF THEIR PROPOSAL ON TABLE FOR LATER ACTION). THIS IS SUBSTANTIATED BY REPEATED HINTS BY SOVIET REPS IN GENEVA IN RECENTT WEEKS THAT USSR WOULD ACCEPT AS OUTCOME OF 32ND SESSION A DECISION TO HOLD HIGH LEVEL MEETING ON ENVIRONMENT WITHIN ECE. MOREOVER, THERE IS STRONG INTEREST AMONG SOME WESTERN MEMBERS OF ECE (PRIMARILY BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY SCANDINAVIANS) IN ENVIRONMENT MEETING.

3. SOVIETS WILL OF COURSE WITH GREATER RECOGNITION OF THEIR PROPOSAL THAN CONTAINED IN SIXTH PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH AND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 3. IN NEGOTIATION, THIS MIGH CONCEIVABLY BE ACCOMMODATED BY DIRECT REFERENCE TO ALL PROPOSALS FOR HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS, I.E., THOSE OF USSR, FINLAND, NORWAY, AND STANOVNIK. IN EXCHANGE FOR INTEGRATING THEIR PROPOSAL FOR HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS ON LONG RANGE TRANSPORT OF AIR POLLUTANTS INTO ENVIRONMENT MEETING, NORWEGIANS MIGHT ALSO DESIRE SUCH SPECIFIC REFERENCE UNLESS (AS THEY WILL PRESUMABLY URGE) COMMISSION COULD AGREE ON SPECIFIC TOPICS TO BE DISCUSSED AT ENVIRONMENT MEETING. IF LATTER EVEN, TOPICS WHOULD BE LIMITED TO TWO OR THREE (AS SUGGESTED BY FINNS), INCLUDING NORWEGIAN TOPIC. (WHICH IS AT HEAD OF BOTH SOVIET AND FINNISH LISTS). MISSION BELIEVES THAT DECISION AT 32ND SESSION ON SPECIFIC TOPICS MIGHT BE DESIRABLE IN ORDER TO NARROW SCOPE OF QUESTION, AND THAT WE SHOULD CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF SUPPORT FOR NORWEGIAN EFFORT IN THIS REGARD.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 02426 301819Z

4. SOVIETS MAY ALSO BE EXPECTED TO PRESS FOR MORE PRECISE AND URGENT PROCEDURE FOR CONSIDERATION OF MATTER THAN IS PROVIDED IN OPERATIVE PARA. 5. IN UK VIEW, FIRST SENTENCE OF THAT PARA COULD BE INTERPRETED (OR REVISED) TO PROVIDE FOR CONSIDERATION OT TOPICS BY ECE SENIOR ENVIRONMENTAL ADVISERS AT REGULAR FEB. 1977 SESSION OR EARLIER SPECIAL SESSION OR BY AD HOC GROUP(S) OF EXPERTS OR TASK FORCE(S). IF AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC TOPICS WERE REACHED AT 32ND SESSION, TASK OF SUCH BOY OR BODIES WOULD PRESUMABLY BE TO CONSIDER SPECIFIC AGENDA AND OBJECTIVES UNER EACH TOPIC.

5. SOVIETS MAY ALSO BE EXPECTED TO PRESS FOR MORE CERTAIN PROSPECTS FOR PROPOSED CONGRESSES ON TRANSPORT AND ENERGY THAN PROVIDED IN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH 7. AS FALLBACK, WEST MIGHT AGREE TO INCLUDE SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THESE FIELDS ALONG WITH SEVERAL OTHERS SUGGESTED BY STANOVNIK IN E/ECE/911 FOR POSSIBLE HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS, BUT WOULD WISH TO AVOID ANY SUGGESTION RE FUTURE ACTION. THIS MAY BE ONE OF HARDEST FIGHTS OF SESSION.

7. MISSION BELIEVES THAT APPROACH PROPOSED BY UK IS BASICALLY SOUND AND LIKELY TO ACHIEVE BROAD SUPPORT WITHIN WESTERN CAUCUS. IT IS DESIGNED TO ACHIEVE SOLUTION THAT, WHILE ALLOWING SOVIETS SOME NECESSARY MEASURE OF CREDIT, LIMITS FUTURE ACTION TO POSSIBLE HIGH LEVEL MEETING ON ENVIRONMENT WITHIN ECE IN ACCORDANCE WITH CRITERIA SET FORTH BY STANOVNIK IN PARA 48 OF E/ECE/911 AND BY FINNS IN STATEMENT TO SENIOR ENVIRONMENTAL ADVISERS AND SECOND LETTER ON SOVIET PROPOSAL (GENEVA 1362 AND GENEVA 2088). THIS COURSE WOULD SERVE TO MINIMIZE PROPAGANDA VALUE TO SOVIETS WHILE ENHANCING ROLE OF ECE THROUGH PROGRAMS OF INTEREST TO WESTERN COUNTRIES AND SERVING USEFUL PURPOSE. MISSION FURTHER BELIEVES THAT DRAFT RESOLUTION IS EXCELLENT PIECE OF WORK AND SHOULD PROVIDE GOOD BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION WITH EASTERN CAUCUS. IF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GENEVA 02426 301819Z

SOLUTION CANNOT BE ACHIEVED ON THIS BASIS, THEN MATTER WOULD PRESUMABLY HAVE TO BE DEFERRED TO BELGRADE OR ECE 33RD SESSION. HOWEVER, THIS COURSE WOULD ENABLE SOVIETS TO POUNC WEST WITH CLUB OF "NEGATIVISM" AT BELGRADE WITHOUT ANY ASSURANCE THAT WEST COULD USE IT FOR A USEFUL TRADEOFF OR CONTAIN OUTCOME TO SCOPE WHICH NOW SEEMS POSSIBLE AT GENEVA. MISSION THEREFORE RECOMMENDS US POSITION ALONG GNERAL LINES SET FORTH IN UK PAPER AND SUPPORT FOR UK DRAFT RESOLUTION, WITH POSSIBLE MODIFICATION SUGGESTED IN LAST SENTENCE
PARA 3 ABOVE.

7. DEPARTMENT'S COMMENTS WOULD BE APPRECIATED PRIOR TO WESTERN CAUCUS MEETING APRIL 1. SORENSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, POLICIES, ENVIRONMENT, RESOLUTIONS
Control Number: n/a
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Sent Date: 30-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977GENEVA02426
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770109-0332
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977038/aaaaagia.tel
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Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 GENEVA 2337, 77 GENEVA 2402, 77 GENEVA 2403
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3167619
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ECE - 23ND SESSION - SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ALL-EUROPEAN CONGRESSES ON ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORT AND ENERGY
TAGS: PFOR, SENV, ETRN, ENRG, UR, UK, ECE, CSCE, EEC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9c6f5ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009